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Defining Multicultural Education:
A Bankian Approach

A THESIS
The Honors Program
College of St. Benedict/St. John's University

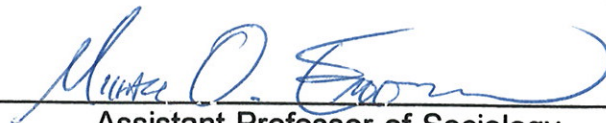
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Distinction "All College Honors"
and the Degree Bachelor of Arts

by
Jason J Dillon
May 1994

Project Title:

**Defining Multicultural Education:
A Bankian Approach**

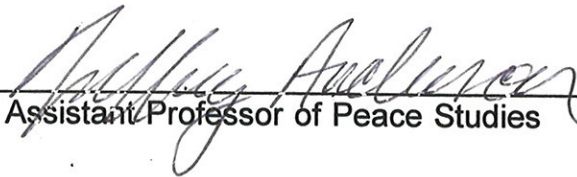
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INTRODUCTION: **WHY MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION?**

Freedom, equality and respect for diversity; it was upon these ideals that the U.S. was founded. The creators of the Constitution were descendants of those who fled the totalitarianism of Europe to establish a homeland based upon religious and political freedom. It is within our nation's schools that those ideals are to be upheld. In our students, we are to instill the values which have held together the diverse groups which make up our great nation for over 200 years. Ideally, we educate our students to be contributive citizens in our pluralistic, democratic society.

Sadly, within those sacred halls of learning great injustice is being done; freedom is not upheld, there is not equality for all, and diversity is not respected. To live in a free world "means having the capacity to choose, the power to attain one's purposes, and the ability to help transform a world lived in common with others" (Banks 1992, 32). For the most part, our nation's schools do not challenge their students to think beyond the confines of the dominant culture. They are inhibiting students' freedom. By presenting them with only one perspective with which to interpret the world, educators do not enable students to make critical decisions. Without the capacity to choose, students are unable to act with informed power. They are unable to be truly contributive citizens.

Equality is also not upheld in our schools. Equality in education does not mean the same education for all. Equal education means equal access to learning¹. In the U.S. there are a diversity of values, thoughts, actions, and learning styles. Only in that schools respect these differences and enable all students to become contributive citizens can it be said that there is equality in education.

Currently, the majority of our schools carry out an assimilationist approach to educating minorities². To do so is to alienate minority students from the educational process, thus disabling some students from achieving academic success. This disrespect shown towards the diverse peoples of our nation goes against the vary ideals our schools are to uphold.

If we are to educate students to be contributive citizens, then justice must be served in our educational system. A new educational approach needs to be implemented which instills freedom, equality and respect for diversity in our schools. The approach in which the destiny of our nation's future lies is multicultural education.

¹Equal access to learning: demands that differences in individuals' learning styles must be addressed in order to provide them with equal preparation for academic success.

²Minority, in this paper, will be defined as any person who is not a member of the dominant culture or who is discriminated against for any reason, i.e. gender, race, ethnicity, socio-economic class, religion, sexual preference, disability, etc..

A comparative analysis, this paper will give definition to multicultural education as it exists today. To define multicultural education is to analyze its three components: (1) an ideal, (2) a process, and (3) a reform movement (Banks 1993, 3). First and foremost, it is an ideal; a composition of the goals of multicultural education which reform traditional education. The conception of multicultural education began with educators recognizing that all students were not succeeding in traditional education. The assumption is that all students should have the opportunity to become contributive citizens in our pluralistic society. The reality is that many minority students are denied equal educational opportunities. Acknowledgement of this reality led to the conceptualization of multicultural education as an ideal, like liberty and justice, towards which society must strive, even if it will never be fully actualized. If we fail to do so, the directives upon which our nation was founded--freedom, equality, and respect for diversity--will perish.

Secondly, multicultural education is the process through which we grow towards the ideal. Like world peace or great athletic performance, multicultural education is ever-striving for perfection. Re-adjusting and re-prioritizing its goals and methods, multicultural education is a work-continually-in-progress. There have been many approaches within multicultural education since its birth. As a process, multicultural education has discarded unfruitful approaches and incorporated new reforms which have brought it closer to meeting the ideal.

Finally, multicultural education is a reform movement. In order to change the fundamentals of school culture, curriculum content and teaching approaches, multicultural education must include a plan for implementation of its ideal. The many obstacles which impede the actualization of multicultural education can be overcome through a concerted effort of elected public official, school administrators and classroom teachers.

CHAPTER ONE: **MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: THE IDEAL**

The ideal of multicultural education is represented by its goals. What are the goals of education? What are the goals of multicultural education? What relevance do they have in the field of education? Are the goals of multicultural education compatible with the master goals of education? In this chapter, multicultural education's goals will be evaluated as to their effectiveness in meeting/directing the goals of education.

GOALS OF EDUCATION

Synthesizing various definitions, I propose that the ideal, or master goal, of education is to prepare contributive citizens within our pluralistic democratic nation. To better evaluate the goals of multicultural education, it is necessary to first evaluate the goals needed to achieve the master goal of education. There is a need in education for a set of universal goals around which a coherent curriculum can be devised. Under a set of goals, educators are held responsible for justifying the relevance of their courses and curriculum. Without it, there is confusion over content: is there knowledge and are there skills that are important for all students to acquire? "Until we [educators] decide on our goals, we get the schools we deserve, which accurately reflect our own confusion about the value of education" (Ravitch 1985, 57). The American school system Ravitch refers to is plagued by declining standardized test scores, absenteeism, and increased graduation of "functional-illiterates."

The importance of common goals is evident. Our task is two-fold. First, we need a set of goals to better evaluate curricula. These goals should be clear and understandable, simple and attainable, and flexible, allowing each school to personalize the curriculum, adapting it to its own needs. Secondly, an educational approach is needed through which the prescribed goals will best be achieved. This approach should also be clear, practical and flexible.

A set of educational goals need not be invented. A single unifying set of education goals has recently been proposed for possible state legislative consideration in Minnesota. For initiation of discussion, I present the six goals of the Minnesota State Department of Education's proposal (1993). Under this plan, students graduating from the public schools in the state of Minnesota shall meet the following requirements: (1) act responsibly as citizens, (2) make lifework decisions, (3) communicate effectively, (4) direct own learning, (5) think purposefully, and (6) work productively with others (see table 1). The educational system, working within these objectives, will prepare our students to be contributive citizens within the pluralistic, democratic society of the U.S.

--table 1 here--

This set of goals should be acceptable to most educators and politicians, as well as the public. There are probably few parents, teachers, or school administrators who would not want to see their child/pupil be proficient in each of these areas, so the question here lies not in, "Are these goals appropriate?" but "How do we meet these goals?"

The confusion comes in defining the curricular, instructional and administrative goals that are needed to achieve the master set. One obstacle to educational reform is the gap between what state and local school boards define as goals and the actual effects those goals have in changing/directing the classroom. Teachers are bombarded with conflicting curricular goals and overwhelming amounts of educational materials and guidelines. They are confronted with the constraints of time, energy, and limited availability of educational funds. Combine all of that and burn-out and apathy among teachers towards educational reform often prevails, or the task simply becomes impossible.

Within the nation's school system, there are nearly as many approaches to education as there are educators. Each of these approaches to education share the goal of preparing contributive members of society. Each approaches this task from a different perspective. They utilize different methods of instruction and different curriculums. Each approach deserves its due respect and attention, but I will focus on just one perspective, multicultural education. Because of its focus on delivering excellence in education to all students, regardless of race, class, gender, ethnicity or exceptionality, multicultural education may well be the most effective reform for achieving the master goal of education.

MULTICULTURAL vs TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

If education is concerned to develop such basic human capacities as curiosity, self-criticism, capacity for reflection, ability to form an independent judgement, sensitivity, intellectual humility and respect for others, and to open the pupils mind to the great achievements of mankind, then it must be multicultural in orientation (Parekh 1986, 28).

The master goal of multicultural and traditional education are one in the same: educating students to be contributive citizens. One might then ask, why multicultural education and not just education? The difference is in the intent. Multicultural education brings to conscience, the inequalities within education. For too many decades, large numbers of students have been systematically repressed within the educational system. Minorities' histories and values are degraded or excluded. Diverse perspectives are not represented, limiting students' freedom of choice. Multicultural education focuses reforms on injustices which traditional education has yet to address--the assimilation of minorities and the restriction of all students' freedom. Multicultural education makes the master goal of educating contributive citizens attainable to all students by attacking the conservative agents that restrict the achievement of many minorities. It empowers all students to practice the freedom of informed choice by expanding their world views³.

The role of multicultural education as an ideal of educational reform is to ensure freedom and life chances for its students. Here, freedom is used in the

³World view: How an individual conceptualizes the ordering of the world; determines how they integrate incoming stimuli.

sense that multicultural education strives to rid schools and curricula from inherited biases against minority achievement and free all students to explore diversity (Parekh 1986). In this way, multicultural education enhances the master goals of traditional education by making them attainable to all students. Only when we find truth and respect for diversity in our curricula are we practicing academic freedom. Only when our curricula create an environment in which the full potential of all students can be actualized do we deliver educational excellence.

Freedom

A universal ideal, and one that has great significance in U.S. culture, is freedom. A rallying point of multicultural education is that it serves freedom in many ways. It frees schools of their inherited biases which distort subjects and hinders the academic achievement of many students. It frees students' minds to explore and examine the values their culture(s) hold. In doing so, multicultural education serves as an emancipatory agent, freeing students from the structural bondage of society. A means to creating "free" schools is by emphasizing excellence.

Educational equality is popularly understood in the U.S. as the access of racial and ethnic minorities to the same schools as middle-class Anglo students. What isn't understood is the possibility that the quality of educational opportunities inside the schools is not equal for all students. "This idea is culturally chauvinistic...[it] assumes that the education White students are

receiving is universally desirable, and that the only way for minority youths to get a comparable education is to imitate Whites" (Gay 1993, 171). The underlying message of this approach is that the cultures of minority students is illegitimate. This educational system must be restructured "...lest it keep compounding the crime of attempting to remold every brown child into a cog for the white middle class machine" (Casso, as cited in Gay 1993, 186)).

The remedy to this situation is not to do away with the western canon: "If we are to remain a free and pluralistic society, we can neither do away with the western canon nor exclude the contributions of people of color" (Banks 1992, 32). The western canon is a valid criterion for the evaluation of thought and action. The error comes when it is regarded as the only paradigm for interpreting the world.

If students are to become contributive citizens, they must be allowed choice of thought and action. Students must be exposed to world views which are unlike the dominant culture's if they are to have real choice. Exploring diversity demands that students critique their own cultures' values. For many students of the dominant culture, this will be a new and challenging experience. They may come to the realization that their culture represses the rights of minority groups. In order to overcome feelings of guilt or doubt, these students might either work for equality and freedom for all, or deny the magnitude of the injustice. The confrontation of cultural beliefs is one which

minority students must live through every day of their lives. For minorities, reconciling themselves to living under oppression or taking emancipatory action are two paths of adapting to their environment.

Life Chances⁴

One major goal of multicultural education is to improve the life chances of students who have traditionally failed in traditional settings. The role education plays in determining a student's life chances is the level of academic success that is nurtured. Students who succeed academically will be better prepared to succeed in later life. Multicultural education brings about academic success by demanding excellence of students and of schools. Students best excel in schools which place particular emphasis in basic skills and where there are high expectations of all pupils (Lynch 1989, 30). It is the student's responsibility to strive to meet the objectives set out by our educators. It is the school's responsibility to provide excellent education to all students. For most schools, this demands drastic changes in institutional approaches which extend to all facets of the educational process: administration, faculty and staff; curriculum; resources; hiring practices; and operational goals. Multicultural education provides the ideal through which schools may deliver freedom and increase the life chances of all students.

⁴Life Chances: Those which determine the success of individuals in adapting to their environment.

COMMON GOALS IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The ideal of multicultural education is a composition of the common goals within the movement. Freedom in education and the increase of life chances is achieved through the implementation of curricular reform in these five headings: (1) respect for plurality, (2) knowledge construction, (3) responsibility, (4) power, and (5) culture.

Respect for Diversity

Within multicultural education, cultural diversity is not tolerated, it is valued. Assimilationist education must come to an end. As our society becomes more just, we realize that, "it is not the Mexican American child that must change. It is the educational system" (Casso, as cited in Gay 1993, 186). For better or for worse, ours is a culturally diverse society. This is a fact the educational system must acknowledge. "Schools have a sociopolitical function and cannot exist independently of the society in which they operate (Tyler, as cited in Giroux, Penna & Pinar 1981, 215). The treatment of issues of cultural diversity with the school has a political impact upon its students. Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator, states it well when he says, "There is no such thing as a neutral educational process" (as cited in Giroux 1981, 215). Either education serves as a conservative agent, indoctrinating youth into the logic of the present system and bringing about conformity, or it becomes the "practice of freedom" (Giroux 1981, 215)-- the means by which students learn to think critically, creatively and with a sense of empowerment to bring about change in

their world. Schools can either continue to exclude and downgrade the values, customs, histories and access to power minority groups, or they can "reject the views that schools should melt away cultural differences" and embrace and affirm that "[America's] cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended" (AACTE 1972, as cited in Ramsey 1989, 12).

One benefit of cultural exploration in the classroom is what Triandis refers to as "additive multicultural experiences" (1986, 90). Diversity allows a person to enjoy the ability to switch from one cultural system to another, thus fostering multicultural literacy. With each positive encounter, a person becomes more willing to engage in cultural exchanges in the future. As the encounters increase, so does the individual's proficiency in cultural literacy. In order to foster interdependence and self-respect, schools need to emphasize commonalities among groups.

Lee Knefelkamp offers that "the highest good that we can produce in our graduates is the capacity for what John Dewey called 'associated living'⁵" (1992, 32). Social barriers that have existed between cultural and racial groups prior to the civil rights era are beginning to crumble. We now dialogue more directly with individuals from other groups. A requirement for cultural survival is

⁵Associative living: The ability to interact with members of other groups in daily life.

to learn new skills of speaking, listening, and exploring the differences in thinking patterns, sources of meaning, and experiences within society. Our students must grapple with how to talk and relate to one another daily in an increasingly diverse environment (Knefelkamp 1992, 32).

The ability of our diverse groups to live associatively will determine the fate of our nation's future. As the minority populations within our society grow, contributive citizens must be prepared for increased contact between groups. In the workplace, within neighborhoods, and in schools, associative skills allow us to dialogue effectively, learn about one another, and, in the least, peacefully coexist.

Banks (1981) describes the interaction of individuals within and between groups in terms of micro and macro cultures. Every individual belongs to a number of microcultures (see Figure 1), as well as being a member of the larger macroculture. The goals of multicultural education are, according to Banks: (1) to help the student understand the roles microcultures play in society and their impact upon the individual, (2) to teach students the necessary skills to find balance between their microcultures and the dominant macroculture, and (3) to deliver students the skills and knowledge necessary for effective engagement with microcultures outside of their home and school culture.

--figure 1 here--

For example, Raphael is a twelve year old boy. He plays second base for a little league baseball. He is a sixth grader at a Catholic elementary school. Rafael stays late after school to participate in a drama program for gifted students. His family is of Hispanic descent. They live in a middle class neighborhood on the East Coast.

In this short description, we have learned that Rafael is a member of at least eight microcultures (gender, sport, social class, religion, exceptionality⁶, race, economic class, region). Within each microculture, there cultural traits unique to that group: values, languages, actions, etc.. A part of Rafael's education should be to learn how to interact within each group, how to interact between each group, and how the roles he plays in each group affects his position within the larger macroculture.

Knowledge Construction

Multicultural education demands that educators rethink how knowledge is constructed in the classroom. The beginning of reconstructing curriculum is the recognition that knowledge does not exist outside of a social construct. Current research affirms that students are not passive receivers of information. Rather, they already have conceptualized a world view through which they interpret incoming stimuli (Brophy 1992, 4).

⁶Exceptionality: a student who requires special education for any reason: learning impairment, physical impairment, giftedness, etc.

Knowledge [in the traditional curriculum] appears 'objective' in that it is external to the individual and is 'imposed' on him or her. It no longer is seen as something to be questioned, analyzed, and negotiated. Instead, it becomes something to be managed and mastered. Once the subjective dimension of knowing (relationship between knower and known) is lost, the purpose of knowledge becomes one of accumulation and categorization (Giroux 1981, 101).

The implication for education is that, in order for students to internalize information, educators must expand students' conceptualizations of reality, and, in many cases, change it. To do this, information should be presented within the context of its relationship to the receiver. If this critical connection is not made, the information, in the mind of the student, is irrelevant, and subsequently is never internalized.

Students enter the classroom with preconceived notions of how the world works. Often, these notions are not based upon fact. By taking their own experiences and using them to construct universal laws to interpret information, students build their own world views. Part of the teacher's job then is to expose students to experiences which broaden students' world views.

For example, Cindy, a seven year old girl from a small town in North Dakota, goes on vacation with her family to St. Louis. Not knowing the area, Cindy's father becomes lost, and the family drives into the heart of East St. Louis. There Cindy sees hundreds of poor blacks living in decrepid conditions. Cindy's mother and father's fear and apprehension is evident, perhaps rightly so. As her first personal experience in an African American neighborhood,

Cindy stereotypes all African Americans as being poor, unhealthy-looking, and living in slums. If Cindy's teacher in North Dakota, Tom Read, is to change her view of African Americans to be more accurate and reflective of their group, Mr. Read will first have to address Cindy's experience in East St. Louis.

Challenging students to develop skills of reflective and critical thinking is the first step towards social understanding. Teachers should provide students with the skills needed to process information and expand their world view.

Knowledge is a dynamic, changing construction within a social context. Totally transformed, multicultural curricula motivate students to view and interpret facts, events, and theories from varying perspectives (Banks 1991, 138).

An important key to interpreting information is the discussion of positionality. Positionality is the recognition of the microcultures that shape our reality. Stress is placed upon the knower's acknowledgement of his/her specific position in any context. By emphasizing how our construct of knowledge is relational rather than essential, multicultural education moves towards a more holistic expression of the human experience (Tetreault 1993, 139). As students learn of the multitude of perspectives from which people define their world views, the complexity of the thought processes which students use to interpret information expands and matures.

In the theory of positionality lie concrete educational implications. Students who come from minority cultures may be severely hindered in school because of variances in the position from which they process information. If a teacher presents information to a student who does not share the same core

knowledge structure or does so in a manner that is assuming of the receiver's position, then the information may never be internalized by the minority student.

A teacher of Protestant affiliation for example, presents to her fifth grade class the structure of writing formal letters. For their assignment, the students are to write to Santa Claus, an exercise the teacher believes will excite and motivate all. The two Muslim students in her class, Mustaf and Aiesha, sit quietly at their desks, unable to formulate what they would want to say to the jolly Kris Kringle. The teacher interprets the students' inaction as laziness and makes a note of "lack of initiative" in their files. Thus the information is lost and those students' chances of future academic success decline in geometrical proportions.

"Just as learning is cumulative, so are learning deficits" (Hirsch 1993, 27). A student who enters a classroom deficient in common knowledge on level with his/her peers is likely to fall further and further behind as the difficulty of material increases. When Aiesha and Mustaf enter sixth grade, and their teacher presents the subject of writing business letters, quickly reviewing formal letters, the two will have to not only learn the new form for business letters, but must first learn the form for a formal letter which they never internalized the year before. Either the whole class will have to slow down to allow the two to catch up, or Aiesha and Mustaf will begin the never-ending

race of catch-up-to-the-class. Because of gaps in cultural proficiency, or differential positionality, the academic achievement of some minority students is hindered.

What multicultural educators have learned from this finding is that it is necessary for teachers to be prepared to assimilate elements of the student's home culture, and vice versa (see Figure 2). To do this, teachers must be knowledgeable in the cultures of the students in their classroom. They must approach the classroom open to the fact that minority students often enter school coming from a home environment where the cultural norms clash with those of the school. Through exchanges of expectations and respect of each other's cultural position, the teacher's and the student's cultures meld to create a unique school culture. Information is better presented by the teacher and received by the student when the context of positionalities are understood. Therefore, a core base of knowledge is more easily established and the life chances of the minority student increase.

--figure 2 here--

Golnaz is fourth grader at New York P-113 elementary school. Her parents are first generation immigrants, and, as such, strive to keep intact many of their cultural practices of their former homeland. Golnaz excels in subjects at school, except for math. Mr. Williams is a well-meaning and mild-mannered man.

"Math," he tells his class, "is a universal language. Study math, and you study the contributions of people from around the world."

Having established good rapport with his classes, Mr. Williams is well-liked by all students. Well almost all, Golnaz despises him. She completes few assignments for his class, and is slow to give him full attention.

"He is always patting the top of my head. And he even musses my hair when passing down my aisle--in front of the whole class!"

What Mr. Williams intends to be a safe, affirming touch to his students, Golnaz interprets as a sign of great disrespect. In her home culture, the head is regarded as being most sacred. It is forbidden within Golnaz's culture to touch another's head in any manner, to do so is rude and disrespectful. Because of this cultural misunderstanding, Golnaz's life chances are hindered. To rectify the situation, Mr. Williams must become more familiar with the home cultures of his students and create a classroom environment that is respectful of diverse customs and values.

Responsibility

[A] major goal of multicultural education should be to help students to know, to care, and to act in ways that will foster a democratic and just society where all groups experience cultural democracy and empowerment. Students also must develop commitment to personal, social and civic action as well as knowledge and skills to participate in effective civic action (Banks 1991, 140).

The teaching of social responsibility must coincide with the presentation of knowledge. Outside of a social context, knowledge is fruitless and therefore ulterior to the aims of education. The master goal of education is to prepare

students to be contributive members of society. As such, curriculum is legitimized when it connects knowledge with social responsibility. The overt message that must be made clear is, with knowledge imparted, there is a responsibility on the part of the receiver to use knowledge gained for the betterment of self and community.

The practice of freedom, equality and respect for diversity does not end at the school gates. Students must uphold the ideals learned in school within the greater society. Freire insists that the knowledge, once received, should not dwell passively within the knower. "Students should be taught the practice of thinking social action" (Giroux 1981, 222). Realization of position within a social context is invalid without development of the skills which will promote social liberation. As Kart Marx declared, "...the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it" (Giroux 1981, 222). Thus, what should be made clear to students is not only how to interpret information, but where to direct its energy.

There are many ways in which citizens contribute to the good of society. Through employment, citizens deliver products and services to others. Raising a family is another way in which people strive to better society. By far, the most contributive act a citizen can perform is that of service to the community. Contributive citizens are agents of productive change and reform. They challenge fundamental institutions which do not uphold freedom, equality, and

respect for diversity. They are the ones who use their knowledge for the betterment of society.

Power: Prejudice & Discrimination

An overt goal of many multicultural programs has been the reduction of racist beliefs and conflict between cultural groups. The failing of this approach is that the focus of the curriculum is not on the root of intergroup conflict: the struggle for power, or access to limited resources (Allport 1958). A major component of educational freedom is a clear understanding of power and its social implications. To educate students to be truly open-minded, critically thinking citizens who reject racism and strive to peacefully disarm conflict, our curricular approach must change.

Multicultural education can be redeemed if it recognizes that affirming individual cultural differences and adding piecemeal "cultural" programs are not likely to have much impact on the subsequent positioning of minority children in education... it is only when this recognition occurs and when it is tied to structural reform in schools that multicultural education can begin to move beyond a preoccupation with lifestyles to address and contest the issues of power relations as they affect the life chances of minority children (May 1993, 366).

While soothing to educators' collective conscience, inundating students with popular anti-racist propaganda does not resolve intergroup conflict. This approach is short-sighted in that it does little to address the root cause of racist beliefs and discriminatory action, competition. Allport (1958) proposed a well documented theory of intergroup conflict. The two main causal factors of intergroup conflict are status inequity and competition. Groups which are at an unequal economic status are likely to enter into conflict once they enter into

competition with each other. This intergroup conflict then propagates prejudice and discrimination (Allport 1958). Studies conducted by Ford (1973) and Sherif, M. & Sherif, C.W. (1953) support Allport's theory. In order for groups to lessen their aggression towards another, they must enter into relationship at an equal status. But contact, even between groups of equal status, leads to conflict and heightened prejudice if groups are in competition with each other.

The implications for education are two-fold. First, a primary goal of our nation's schools should be to produce graduates who enter into the workforce with equal preparation. To do so increases the life chances of otherwise "at risk" students. Increased preparation for success lessens the economic gap between groups. Secondly, to reduce tension and encourage intergroup understanding and interaction, students must learn the skills of effective cooperation. Cooperation between groups reduces prejudice and discrimination. Encouraging intergroup contact which is positive and non-threatening, and giving rewards for working together, deflates the potential for intergroup conflict and therefore curtail prejudice and discrimination. By eliminating competition for power within the schools, students in multicultural programs model the type of cooperative communities needed to reduce intergroup conflict in society. A hope of multicultural education is that if students learn to positively associate with their classmates, a pattern of respect for diversity will continue outside of school.

A failing of Allport's theory is that it does not address factors of

homophobia, anti-semitism, and other like cases of prejudice and discrimination. Hate, anger or resentment based upon judgement of another's morality cannot be diffused by economic equality alone. The complexity and maturity of students' thoughts must be nurtured and their world views must be expanded if educators are to promote understanding of and respect for diversity of beliefs and actions.

In short, programs which focus on group self-concept, boosting children's esteem and instructing students to respect another fall deathly short of their intention if they do not also take great strides to insure excellence of minority academic achievement, including high standards of student performance. Only once minorities excel in the educational system will life chances improve and economic power shift toward equality.

Culture

How are teachers to deal with conflict of cultural values? Let's say, for instance, that a teacher in Chicago witnesses an Iranian American boy striking his sister across the face for engaging in conversation with boys, a valid punishment within the Iranian community. How is the multicultural teacher to react? Is the teacher to respect the cultural norms of the boy's home culture, or is the boy to be punished for crossing the norms of the dominant culture? This is a tough situation, but a decision must be made. The teacher must stop the boy's actions. The individual rights of his sister must be upheld.

Within multicultural education "all cultures deserve the respect to be

understood in their own unique setting...[but] all cultures are not equally good" (Parekh 28). This is an issue to which multicultural educators need to give great attention. A tough question in multicultural education is: where is the line drawn between acceptance of diverse values and denial of practices which conflict with the moral conscience of a collective people? Though we can learn much from studying cultures whose values dramatically conflict with the dominant U.S. culture, we must not undermine the inherent value of human rights (such as those outlined in the Bill of Rights). In the U.S. the right of any group to act upon their cultural values must end when an individual's rights are infringed upon.

Teaching about culture in multicultural education is not an easy task. How are teachers to treat this issue which is so pertinent to its conception? Bullivant, a prominent sociological advisor to multicultural educators, proposes a definition of culture which changes the nature of instruction of this subject. His definition presupposes a method for teaching which legitimizes differences between groups while at the same time emphasizes the commonalities between humans. "Differences" is used here in the sense of differences in diverse cultural values, thoughts and actions which do not impede on the civil liberties of others. Underlying Bullivant's approach is that individuals are

essentially all the same. The teaching of this universal truth promotes respect for individuals and leads to positive and effective interaction between groups.

Culture, according to Bullivant, "is an ever-evolving 'survival device' based upon adaptive change that enables social groups to cope with the problems of living in a particular habitat. It is this kind of culture," he goes on to say, "that children have to master, rather than a romanticized, fossil-culture based on utopian views of pluralism" (1986, 43). Students should not be inundated with historical images of "perfect cultures."

Today's students are presented with stories based upon utopian ideals, such as the Native Americans: the peaceful people, they who lived harmoniously with nature and people alike. This approach to educating students about culture is flawed for two reasons. First, this is a romanticized misrepresentation of the truth. There were many warring factions in Native American history. One factor that may have allowed tribes to live "harmoniously" with nature is because of their relative few numbers and the vast expanse of the North American continent at their disposal. History might have been rewritten had the Native Americans discovered gunpowder before the arrival of the pilgrims (Hecht 1979, 71-73). The need for more accurate portrayals of historical events is evident. A balanced approach which takes into account the multiple perspectives surrounding any single event must be a part of our student's textbooks. Only then will history lessons be less assuming of righteousness.

Secondly, by focusing solely on historical examples of cultures, teachers deaden students against cultural understanding and social change. What relevance does slavery have to the situation of African American students today? How is studying the conflict between black and white cultures four hundred years ago going to help the situation today? Only in that the relationship between historical fact and modern reality can be established is knowledge justifiably emancipatory.

An historical fact is that African Americans were violently introduced into our nation. The contemporary implication is that African Americans are a unique racial group in the U.S. in that assimilation has not been as important a value to their culture as it has been for immigrant groups such as Asian Americans or Jewish Americans. Or perhaps more correctly, African Americans are a group whose attempts to assimilate have been repeatedly suppressed. A result of the adverse relationship between African Americans and the dominant white culture in society today is the philosophy of many African American teenagers who cite academic success or economic advancement as "acting white" or "selling out." In this case, the violent nature of slavery and its effects on a group has been so damaging to its members psychic that upwards mobility is an act seen as unattainable by African Americans, outside the worlds of sport and gangs. In Bullivant's theory, this attitude is a result of a group's survival device for coping with an oppressive environment.

By teaching students how groups in today's society use different survival devices to meet the conditions of their particular situations, teachers bring students to the one, all important conclusion, that all people are the same. Humans share the same basic needs and desires. Cultures vary because they come from different perspectives, they have different tools to work with.

The culture of recent Asian immigrants differs from the dominant white culture because of the positionality from which they must adapt to their environment. An example of one cultural survival device, loyalty to family and group is greatly valued by Asian Americans, as it serves to meet their economic needs. As recent immigrant groups, Asian Americans do not have access to large amounts of capital outside on their own community. One way the have adapted to this position is in the pooling of money within Asian American communities to help members to start their own business. By building self-sufficient communities, the groups better their economic conditions in the U.S. . The underlying theme in this example, which should be made overt to students, is that the need of economic stability is not unique to any one group, rather, it is shared by all.

Which brings us to Allport's theory of the root cause of prejudice and discrimination: competition between groups of unequal economic status for scarce resources. Using the survival device approach to this competition

"enables us to conceptualize the mechanisms by which the majority ethnic group in a pluralistic society controls the life chances of minority-status individuals and groups" (Bullivant 45). Instead of avoiding this issue, teachers must make clear to students the political nature of the fact that fundamental changes in the nature of U.S. economics may be necessary if we are to lessen prejudice and discrimination. Certain groups in this society are in a greater position for economic survival than others. These groups most often will use their position of power to its advantage.

Many of the social issues of today are the result of one group's exertion of power to keep its economic advantage over other groups. Why do Native Americans appear destined to live in poverty? Why are women and other economic minorities kept below the glass ceiling? Is it because of a biological or cultural predisposition, or is it because of the covert attempts of members of another group to retain its economic power? Promotion of the Manifest Destiny philosophy throughout our country's formation and the ever-present "old boy network" are concrete examples of the devices by which the dominant white male culture has suppressed the life chances of Native Americans, women and other minorities.

Studying different sets of survival devices, or cultures, within the U.S. in this context does not serve to enforce the formation of group identity amongst students (which builds the potential for prejudice and discrimination).

Rather, it loosens the grip of ethno-arrogance which is so much a part of our society. Bullivant's theory of culture should be the essence of multicultural education. It is the only approach I have seen which effectively addresses the issue of power in direct relation to culture, bringing about understanding of the nature of prejudice and racism. As such, Bullivant's theory is a catalyst for social change in that it challenges students to see the complexity of intercultural issues. In doing so, it makes clear the underlying determinant of group survival: the building/sustaining of life chances.

Conclusion

The ideal of multicultural education has been set forth. To truly prepare all students to become contributive citizens, educators must reform how and what students are being taught. Diversity must be respected in education if students are to have and uphold freedom. Knowledge must be constructed in a manner which allows for the internalization of information by students, regardless of their positionality. To contribute to society, students must be taught the responsibility of knowledge and its connection to social action. Students should be knowledgeable of the way in which power is an underlying cause of prejudice and discrimination. More importantly, they must be trained in the skills of critical thinking and cooperative learning within a diverse society. Finally, culture, in the educational setting, must be presented in a respectful, yet critical, manner. Only through encouraging the development of associative

living can teachers give students the skills they need to live in a pluralistic, democratic society. These directives make up the ideal of multicultural education. The second stage of defining multicultural education is the evaluation of the process by which the ideal takes the shape of an educational approach.

CHAPTER TWO: **MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: THE PROCESS**

Multicultural education is an evolutionary process. As such, it is in a continual state of correction, redirection and redefinition. Through the years, the approaches of multicultural education have evolved to grow closer to meeting the ideal of multicultural education. What was once an additive program to promote respect by the dominant culture for minorities, is now an integrative education reform movement striving to empower minority students.

HISTORY OF U.S. MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: 1940 TO 1980

Precipitated by racial and ethnic prejudices and misunderstandings in the 1940s, multicultural education first took form as an intergroup education plan. A nation-wide program, intergroup education worked under the basic assumption that respect and acceptance of another racial or ethnic group could occur as the result of acquisition of factual knowledge (Banks 1981, 8). The program content consisted of the teaching of isolated units on various ethnic groups, exhortation against prejudice, and the banning of books considered stereotypical of or demeaning to racial groups (Ramsey 1989, 6).

James Banks cites six reasons intergroup education failed to be institutionalized nationwide. (1) Mainstream education never internalized the ideology and assumptions core to intergroup education. (2) It was not understood how intergroup education contributed to the goals of American

schools. (3) Mainstream educators thought intergroup education was solely for schools with open racial problems. (4) Racial tensions became more subtle during the 1950s and therefore mainstream educators saw a lack of need for intergroup education. (5) Intergroup education suffered from lack of funds from traditional educators. (6) Leaders of intergroup education never developed a well-articulated coherent philosophical base of how intergroup education would benefit America and be consistent with mainstream educators major goals (Banks 1981).

In the 1960s multicultural education took a much different form. Out of the calls for ethnic and racial dignity, such as the "black pride" movement, came demands for back-to-roots ethnic studies. These programs were predominantly found on the campuses of college and universities. The tracing of cultural roots within ethnic studies programs was the popular trend for students of color. The focus was not on the understanding of ethnic and racial relations. Instead, the emphasis of most ethnic studies programs were on what Boyer and Cole term the four F's--facts, foods, famous people, and festivals (Ramsey 1989). The emphasis was on the lifestyles of minority groups rather than on the life chances of the groups. By doing so, ethnic studies did little to address the issues of power structures and economic competition, which are at the heart of the group survival and discrimination.

Ethnic studies attempted to provide students with a more realistic and relevant curriculum of American Society (Ramsey 1989, 8). Its failure came in

that its programs simply did not go far enough to address ethnic and racial injustices nor educational disparities. Ramsey outlines the failings of ethnic studies in three areas. (1) It was content oriented or knowledge based and was often perceived to be divisive in that it stressed rather than reduced differences between groups. (2) It was not designed to deal with causal factors, such as racism or discrimination. (3) It failed to denounce the perceptions of Anglo-Saxon ethnocentrism and superiority.

The term "multicultural education" first came to use in the 1970s. Disenchanted with the lack of progression following the civil rights movement, minority groups again made their voices heard. They demanded full representation in education. This would involve the revision of textbooks to give more accurate portrayals of minority groups, and the hiring of minority teachers to reflect the diversity of students. The multicultural education movement of the 1970s was not limited to racial or cultural minorities.

The women's rights movement was also in full force. People with disabilities were claiming their right to equal education. The passing of article 94-142 now guaranteed the right as exceptional children to public education, with definite intentions towards integrative schooling (formerly known as mainstreaming). This article demands that all students must be provided equal educational opportunity, regardless of exceptionality.

The goals of multicultural education at this time were broader and farther reaching than the previous attempts at reform. Curriculum aims to

increase the academic achievement and representation of ethnic and racial groups expanded to include gender, social-class, and exceptionalities. Despite having three decades of previous reform attempts to learn from, however, multicultural education in the 1970s continued to be plagued by lack of direction, inconsistency of goals and inability to implement practical programs.

CONTEMPORARY MULTICULTURAL APPROACHES: 1980-1994

To understand the current state of multicultural education in America, it is important to examine the approaches which have characterized the 1980s and 1990s. James Banks gives a concise review of the major approaches to multicultural education in his book, Multiethnic Education⁷. In it, Banks lists the approaches and their underlying assumptions, major goals, and their school applications in schools (see Table 2). For brevity, discussion will focus on four broad headings. Additive, Values Based, Total School Reform and Integrative Multicultural Education are the four classes into which I have grouped the major approaches (other examples of contemporary approaches can be found in the appendix).

--table 2 here--

Additive Approach

When instituting multicultural education, the simplest approach to implement is the additive approach. Curriculum content and programming

⁷Multiethnic education: focuses on the specific needs of particular ethnic groups which must be met to achieve academic success.

takes many forms under this classification. What Boyer and Cole termed four F's programming, regrettably, is the most widespread approach within traditional schools.

The "celebrated minority" typifies this curriculum. A part of most schools' current curriculum is the celebration and selected study of the major minority groups of America. Each given their turn of glory, the appeasement of minority groups is nicely packaged: Black History Month, Asian American Month, Native American Month, Hispanic American Month, Women's Month. There are not enough months available to include all the diverse groups which make up our "Melting Pot", but it is done all the same. Songs are sung, pictures are drawn, videos are watched, foods are cooked and dances danced. All the meanwhile, every day in every subject the white male is honored.

The additive approach gets its name from the books used in its curriculum; new editions of the same old books, which have not been rewritten to portray a just picture of history, science, or social studies, but merely "added-on". The discussion of minorities and their issues are usually found at the end of the chapter in special highlighted sections. By treating the inclusion of minority groups in such a way, the message sent is that they are not a part of mainstream America, but quite simply an afterthought. The major assumption made within this paradigm is that multicultural content can be injected into the classroom without re-conceptualization or reform of the greater curriculum.

There are a number of educators within multicultural education who recommend ethnic awareness additive programs for minority students deemed lacking in self-esteem and identity. The assumption made is that increased cultural or racial affiliation, and not simply academic achievement, brings minority students greater self-image. The curriculum under this paradigm is more akin to a cultural overdose rather than one of equal and just education. The idea that merely knowing the history of one's ethnic or racial group will bring about greater academic achievement is flawed in conception. Like other additive approaches, ethnic identification education is instituted in a separatist fashion. During a prescribed hour of the day, students would be separated by color or group affiliation in order to be instructed about their particular cultural roots. Finally, the failing of this approach is that the emphasis on group identification is apt to escalate the conflict that multiculturalists seek to eradicate. Enforcing the formation of my-group-your-group mentality among students increases the potential for intergroup conflict.

Values Based Approach

There is a faction within multicultural education reformers which contends that programming should be implemented within schools that will combat racist and discriminatory beliefs of students. "The task of erasing racial stereotypes and prejudice has fallen squarely on the laps of America's public schools" (Steinberger 1991, 9). Part of educators' responsibility is to teach students the behaviors and ideals that our society deems vital to its

health. Students must learn to value our nation's diversity of race and culture. Therefore schools must educate students to be citizens who act with tolerance and understanding in a society poisoned by racial and ethnic conflict.

Goals within the value based approach are many. James Lynch (1989), in his book Multicultural Education in a Global Society cites the master aims of global multicultural education⁸. Centered around the themes of pluralism, equity and cohesion, they are: (1) "the creative enhancement of cultural diversity; (2) the achievement of social justice in the form of equality of educational opportunity for all regardless of sex, race, creed or ethnicity; and (3) the propagation of a sense of shared values, rights and access to political power and legitimate economic and other human satisfaction" (1989, 10).

The goal of this curriculum is not only to instill values deemed desirable by society, but to

encourage all pupils to ascend the ladder of sophistication from the acquisition of knowledge, through the comprehension and application of knowledge, through reflective thinking, to morally autonomous but socially responsible, evaluation and action (Lynch 1989, 11).

Lynch seeks to implement his program within a setting characteristic of an effective whole school approach where high expectations are put on all

⁸"Global" multicultural education is an approach within multicultural education which focuses on reform with an international scope.

pupils; there is particular emphasis placed on excellence in basic skills; a clear set of master aims and operational objectives is set forth by the administration; and an ordered, safe and disciplined environment is maintained based upon respect for all persons (1989, xvii).

Total School Reform Approach

"A holistic paradigm, which conceptualizes the school as an interrelated whole, is needed to guide educational reform" (Banks 1981, 107). The approach that takes the largest reformatational leap within the multicultural education field is that of "total school reform" (Grant, Sleeter, Baptiste, as referenced in Banks). This approach is designed to increase educational equity for a range of ethnic, cultural and economic groups--not merely curriculum reform. Total school reform moves away from the idea that multicultural education is a movement limited to printing new books and interjecting specific values. It calls for schools to make changes in school culture in order to create equal opportunity for all. This approach must begin with an understanding of the school culture and its effects on student achievement.

Banks defines school culture as a culmination of the interaction between the students' culture and that of the teacher (1993, 108). Children bring to school the cultural expectations, traits and values of their home culture. It is, therefore, very natural that tension, and perhaps even conflict, exists in the school environment. Not only is there an unfamiliar institutional culture with

which a student must contend (separation from parents/family; structured class periods; forced interaction with peers), but all teachers bring their own cultural background, experience, and ideation. The school culture is the result of teachers' assimilation of their students' culture and the students' assimilation of their teachers' cultures. Though it is not always an equal exchange, the school culture is a distinct environment that reflects the cultures of all members.

A major component of the total school reform approach to multicultural education is that the school culture must respect the cultures out of which all its members come. Ideally, the school culture is conducive to the achievement of all its students, regardless of their race, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic class or exceptionality. The reality is that school cultures, as they are currently constructed, are very congruent with Anglo students' home culture whereas "the social codes for succeeding in school are unfamiliar or diametrically opposed to the codes [minorities] have learned in their home cultures" (Gay 1993, 182). For an empowering school culture to exist, reform of the entire educational process is needed. This includes everything from meeting students' health and nutrition needs to undergraduate education programs which require multiculturalism as part of teacher preparation.

Reforming the school culture begins with educating teachers to be culturally literate. Teachers cannot be expected to be educated in every possible home culture of their students. In New York city, for example, a single school may be responsible for educating students from over forty

different cultures. What is required under total school reform is that teachers possess the skills and knowledge to effectively communicate curricular goals to students and be aware that the means towards achieving those goals may have to be adapted to best suit some students.

More than simply educating teachers in cultural literacy, the movement from a restrictive to an empowering school culture must take place at all levels within the school organization by all staff. To create a school culture that promotes equity, several key variables must be evaluated:

grouping and labeling practices, sports participation, disproportionality in achievement, disproportionality in enrollment of gifted and special education programs, and the interaction of the staff and students across gender, racial and ethnic lines (Banks 1981, 22).

Only once bias and discrimination have been eradicated from these important areas can educators speak in any real terms about equity in the schools.

Integrative Approach

Finally, we have come to the best that multicultural education has to offer: the integrative approach. It is "integrative" in that it unites the best of educational reforms of movements with like agendas. The integrative approach branches out of the total school reform approach, going farther than total school reform in that it does not limit its boundaries at established multicultural curricula.

Multicultural Education has failed to learn from, let alone make common cause with, other cognitive curriculum reform movements, and has ignored academic traditions, some of them very lengthy, which could have informed it and improved its effectiveness. This failure to form a coalition with other curriculum reform movements that share common objectives has led to fruitless competition for scarce curriculum space and time, and has reduced the credibility of multicultural education (Lynch 1989, 1).

In order to increase academic achievement of minorities in school, integrative multicultural education incorporates aspects of other education reform movements that contain empowering changes. These reforms may be of process orientation or curricular change. Cooperative learning is a pedagogical movement that has gained popularity as of late. Its intent is to establish a sense of community in the classroom. To achieve this, comparative learning style utilizes group projects as one means of lessening the often competitive feeling of the classroom. Cooperative learning also pairs high achieving students with those who are struggling to grasp a particular concept. Doing this encourages the positive interaction of individuals and, hopefully, increases the academic achievement of both students.

Conflict resolution is an empowering agent that is incorporated into the curriculum of integrative multicultural education. A construct of peace education, conflict resolution eases tension and promotes positive communication between students. Tension in a classroom/school inhibits student academic performance. A student who harbors anger and resentment towards a classmate is less likely to be able to concentrate on schoolwork.

Fear or anxiety can easily command the energy and attention needed for learning. By teaching students effective means of processing feelings and resolving conflicts, a classroom's learning atmosphere is enhanced.

Conclusion

Multicultural education, as a process, has established a pattern of refinement and re-direction that has kept it from becoming outdated. It has matured from a set of simple curricular aims into a comprehensive ideal that commands the attention of many educators. These reform-minded thinkers have produced a multitude of multicultural approaches. The most recent of which move away from approaches which heighten group identity formation or are merely add-on to the existing curriculum. The integrative approach has emerged as the best within multicultural education. It demands total reform of the school culture, and incorporates innovative reforms, such as cooperative learning and conflict resolution. What we still lack is a plan for implementation of the ideal. The third, and final, level within multicultural education initiates and directs change. It is the reform movement.

CHAPTER THREE: **MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION⁹:** **A REFORM MOVEMENT**

Creating the opportunity for change. How will multicultural education evolve from an ideal theoretical model to a fully implemented pragmatic program meeting the needs of our youth's development? This final chapter shall be a concise exploration of two key issues to multicultural education's survival: (1) What is the essential quality upon which multicultural education should focus its reforms? and (2) How is multicultural education to be implemented in U.S. schools?

ESSENTIAL QUALITIES OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural education is a reformative approach to meeting the master goal of education. As such, multicultural education should be used as the criterion against which educational programs and curriculum need be justified. Not until multicultural education's goals direct educational goals, and not the converse, will it be fully implemented and fully effective. It is not an add-on program to be attached to an ever-growing list of issues teachers are expected to address. Educators must see that multicultural education offers a viable approach to education that enhances their ability to meet the master goals of education. Teachers need to see how it will direct their curriculum, not detract from it.

⁹For purposes of clarity, the term "multicultural education" will be used in reference to the integrative approach.

Excellence

Multicultural educators must emphasize the essence of their programs -- providing all students with excellent education-- if they are to convince mainstream educators and the general public of the need for their reforms. Enabling all students to become contributive members of our society entails providing excellent education to all students. Two keys to multicultural reform that will bring about excellence in schools are: administrators who create an open and encouraging climate for the creativity of teachers, challenging risk-takers, and teachers who create an environment in which students thrive. Positive experiences in school and high levels of academic achievement increase the life chances of students. Multicultural education demands excellent schools.

Delivering excellence in multicultural education begins with the education of teachers at the college level. Just as multicultural education as an additive measure fails elementary and secondary students, training of licensed teachers with add-on seminars will not bring about the context of full educational reform that multicultural education demands. What is needed is an army of young teachers who are trained as multicultural teachers. From introductory levels to methods courses to student teaching, our nation's next generation of teachers need to major in multicultural education. Undergraduate programs should train teachers in effective intercultural communication and recognizing potential learning difficulties. Development of

empowering school culture is the mainstay of multicultural education.

Moreover multicultural teachers are knowledgeable of the diverse perspectives in the subjects they teach. The passing of time will establish a new generation of multicultural teachers in our educational system. Then we will begin to get the schools we deserve.

IMPLEMENTATION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

"Making multicultural education more than just lip service to surface features like foods and celebrations requires important commitments and structural changes" (May 1993).

In order for multicultural education to be effective, there must be a concerted effort at all levels within the educational system for its full implementation. Although some of the best examples of multicultural education have been the result of individual school initiatives (Ahlgren 1993), multicultural education must be connected to state and federal programs if it is to become a mainstay in public education. Beginning with public policy decision-makers and moving down through school administrators to reach classroom teachers, I propose that the best implementation of multicultural education is a top-to-bottom-to-top approach.

Public Officials

The survival of multicultural education is dependent upon national and state supports. Research in global education, "suggests that the national,

regional, state, and local leadership in global education provide help to teachers in a number of ways" (Becker 1982, 232). The same logic should apply to multicultural education. I shall focus on two areas where public officials hold the potential of multicultural education's growth: leadership and resources.

The first role that public boards must take in the implementation of multicultural education is leadership. We live in an era when teachers face a multitude of problems every day (limited resources, overcrowded classrooms, marginal students, discipline, violence and drugs). Still, they are expected to continually integrate new programs and content into their classrooms (Bullard 1992). These instructional and curriculum reforms can be overbearing as the goals and directives are often many and inconsistent. Public officials can ease the burden placed upon teachers by simplifying and clarifying educational directives. As leaders, public officials are in the position to provide teachers with the rationale--including the philosophy, goals and values--that will bring success to multicultural education. To bring about change, leaders at the state and federal level must take the initiative to send a clear message to local school boards, administrators, teachers and school staff. Our students need multicultural education. This is how they will get it.

The method for implementation should be organically based, meaning it is a natural, grass roots, evolutionary process. Site-based development of multicultural education is vital to its survival. Giving individual schools control

of their curriculum promotes a greater sense of ownership and, with that,

dedication to its success. Encouragement and assistance from public officials nurtures the growth of multicultural reform, spreading it across the nation.

The role of state and national leaders is simple, yet important. It begins with setting broad multicultural objectives which, among other things, earmarks money for multicultural education initiatives and establishes resource bases for curriculum development and creative exchanges. To implement a multicultural education within a school demands time, expertise and resources.

Governmental boards must make money available to those schools which demonstrate a desire to reform their programs. The simplest method to distribute these financial resources may be through issuing grants to individual schools or school districts. With the allotted resources, schools may build their reforms by hiring consultants to evaluate existing programs, providing teachers with the necessary time to develop their curricula by adding additional teachers to the staff, and purchasing the materials and resources needed to carry out reforms (new textbooks, library materials, audio-visual aides, etc). But, not every school will be ready or willing to initiate the levels of reforms needed to grant funds. For these schools, centers for curriculum resources, conferences and seminars must be established.

Regional or local centers for multicultural education will serve as resources for teachers, administrators and school board members to investigate and discuss different models and tactics for school reform. By

providing the setting and agenda for the exchange of ideas on multicultural education, these centers will nurture the growth of school reform.

Obstacles that public officials will face are resistance from citizens, school boards and other leaders who diametrically oppose the implementation of any multicultural reforms. Some of these opponents are political conservatives who reel at the thought of teaching about the atrocities of slavery, or deny the reality of the holocaust during WWII. The majority of adversaries, I would speculate, fear the political nature of multicultural education. For them, the status quo is safe. "It was good enough for us" is an excuse used over and over again. To challenge the curricula is to challenge the values they were taught, thus undermining their sense of what is right. Most of multicultural education's opponents may never be swayed from their view. Elected public officials must, in the face of this opposition, stand behind the reforms and place multicultural education at the top of their agenda.

Administrators

Much of multicultural education's implementation depends on school administrators. All too often, the role of administrators in our schools is one of chief disciplinarian, scheduling supervisor and budgeteer. What is needed of administrators in multicultural schools is that they be reform leaders, curriculum advisors and teaching role models.

The multicultural administrator must be willing to take risks. Moreover, teachers must be encouraged to take risks. Endorsements of creativity should

come from the school administrator. The multicultural administrator must act as a unifying force within the school. Teachers who are interested in re-evaluating their curriculum should be brought together to discuss multicultural education as a team. Together, and with the help of the administrator, they can evaluate multicultural materials, school practices and teaching approaches. Out of such discussions, hopefully, the impetus for a multicultural program is born.

As the team leader, it is the administrator's role to make available the time and resources necessary for program implementation. Administrators committed to reform allow interested faculty and staff to make observation trips to model schools. Development grants may pay for substitutes and those involved should not be docked pay or leave. This is the style of reform management administrators undertake in multicultural education. With the role of resource manager, administrators should serve their schools as model teachers.

The direction of multicultural reform requires administrators to lead their schools by setting examples of effective teaching. The administrator is the first to receive and review new curricular materials. As such, s/he should be the most familiar with the newest teaching techniques and subject content. It is their job, then, to model the reform developments in the classroom. Administrators not only educate classroom teachers on the quality and style of teaching that is necessary for multicultural reform, but they display the

commitment and enthusiasm required for implementation of multicultural education.

A major obstacle to administrators fulfilling this role is the enormous administrative demands principals are subjected to which detract from their effectiveness as an instructional leader (McCarthy 1990, 125). Once administrators are relieved of the duties which hinder their ability to perform the essential requirements of their job, multicultural education may succeed.

Teachers

Most teachers, after all, have a pretty good understanding of what they need to do: Care about their children. Teach them to care about each other. Show them that hatred hurts. Show them how to think critically. Open up new worlds for them to discover. Offer them the tools of change. Create a small caring community in the classroom.

Multicultural education is not a substitute for individual attention. But multicultural education, by some definition, is essential. We must help our children find a place in our pluralistic world. In doing so, we must avoid stereotyping, resegregation, indoctrination, assigning blame. We must confront the problem of prejudice and inequality in our classrooms as well as in our society.

And we must remember that as individuals we are not merely expressions of culture; we are also capable of transcending our cultures. In that way, we are all alike.

-Sara Bullard 1992, 7

Ultimately the survival of multicultural education rests with the classroom teachers. They are the ones on the front lines in education. Without their support, multicultural education will merely be reduced to rhetoric. If multicultural education is to be implemented, teachers must 1) be educated in the movement and 2) personalize the curriculum.

In his program for Emancipatory Multicultural Reform, McCarthy states

that, "school teachers must be involved in reworking of curriculum in ways that give them a sense of professional autonomy and ownership over curriculum changes" (1990, 127). We have already discussed the measures that administrators must take to encourage teacher participation in multicultural reform. What teachers must do is to take advantage of the resources and opportunities presented to them. It is up to the teachers to take responsibility for presenting their students with the best quality instruction possible.

Attending workshops, re-writing lesson plans, and taking risks in the classroom are the essential demands of multicultural reform. How is such attention and devotion rallied in teachers?

A sense of ownership and control over reforms is the key to the successful implementation of multicultural education by teachers in the classroom. By becoming involved in strategic planning sessions, taking part in the review of multicultural resources and experimenting with reforms in their own classrooms, teachers become the true experts in multicultural education. They are closest to the students and therefore are in the best situation to judge what does and does not work in educational reform. Bringing information to planning groups within their own schools, teachers collectively develop and guide their own multicultural curriculum.

The programs that come out of these sessions provide the collective impetus for the natural implementation of reform. Taking plans for reform back to their classrooms, teachers follow logical methods for introducing multicultural

education. The personalization of reform is actualized when teachers have adapted multicultural education to reflect the diverse needs of their classrooms.

Conclusion

The planting of multicultural education reform is a comprehensive undertaking. As such, inclusion of all affected parties is vital to its implementation. Teachers, administrators and public officials each must fulfill their specific roles. The experimentation of individual teachers with multicultural education leads to the development of school-wide reforms. From there, programs for change are discussed and exchanged by teachers and administrators alike at multicultural education centers. At this point the best of programs will be spread to other schools and supplant themselves within inviting communities. Eventually, the very goals originally set out by state and national leaders will be met. This will happen not as a result of imposing a uniform program onto all schools, but from the organic growth of simple ideas, geometrically growing into radical change. From top-to-bottom-to-top, the implementation of multicultural education is an organic evolution.

CONCLUSION: **IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

Multicultural education is good education. It makes the master goal of education attainable for all students by reforming traditional approaches to education. To reach this end, multicultural education addresses fundamental barriers of bias in curricular content, inadequate teaching approaches, and incongruence of educational directives. These are barriers which educators can overcome through the education of faculty and staff, rewriting textbooks and materials, and producing reformative educational approaches.

Obstacles that impede the implementation of multicultural reform, or any educational reform, are structural in nature. Inadequate funding of the U.S. educational system makes a difficult task incomprehensible. Our schools need more teachers. Students need new school buildings. School districts need to receive equal distribution of resources. The enormous burdens placed upon administrators must be lifted. Gangs, guns and drugs must be removed from our schools. Reform of the educational system will not be easily accomplished. Should multicultural education fold in the face of these enormous problems? Must multicultural education be put on hold until the great structural impediments are removed?

Multicultural education must coincide with other educational reforms. Minority students have suffered too long for us not to strive to deliver good education. We can build new school buildings as we build new school

cultures. As long as we are training new teachers, we should train multicultural teachers. Education, like multicultural education, is also a process which is continually improving and evolving. Instituting multicultural reforms is the newest challenge for U.S.. Our nation's freedom, equality, and respect for diversity depends upon it.

Defining multicultural education is the first step in the investigation of this education reform movement. Further exploration would entail researching the practical methods for creating a school system built upon multicultural education. A detailed description of a model multicultural classroom is needed to make the theoretical definition of multicultural education practical. A process for internalization of multicultural education is needed to reform undergraduate programs of teacher licensure. Further research into multicultural education will bring us closer to the actualization of good education.

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TABLE 1 PROPOSED GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS, STATE OF MINNESOTA

Acts Responsibly as a Citizen

- understands diversity and the interdependence of people in local and global communities
- demonstrates a respect for human differences
- makes informed decisions
- exercises leadership on behalf of the common good

Makes Lifework Decisions

- knows self, lifework options, and lifework planning processes
- understands work force and societal trends
- responds positively to changing work environments
- adapts to the stages and dynamics of one's life

Performs as an Effective Communicator

- conveys messages through a variety of methods and products
- adapts messages to various audiences and purposes
- engages the intended audience to understand and respond
- receives and interprets the communication of others

Directs Own Learning

- sets well-defined goals and manages the process of achieving them
- acquires, organizes and uses information
- initiates learning activities in the pursuit of individual interests
- applies technology to specific tasks
- applies realistic self-appraisal in selecting the content, method, and pace for learning
- integrates knowledge and skills in both familiar and new situations

Thinks Purposefully

- uses strategies to form concepts, make decisions, and solve problems
- applies a variety of integrated processes including critical and creative thinking to accomplish complex tasks
- evaluates the effectiveness of mental strategies through meaningful reflection
- demonstrates flexibility, persistence, and a sense of ethical considerations

Works Productively With Others

- participates as a team member in pursuit of group goals and products
- works well with individuals from diverse backgrounds
- applies conflict-management strategies
- teaches others new skills

Minnesota Department of Education. Drafted 12 August 1993.

Table 2 Multicultural Education Paradigms

<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Major Assumptions</i>	<i>Major Goals</i>	<i>School Programs and Practices</i>
Ethnic Additive	Ethnic content can be added to the curriculum without reconceptualizing or restructuring it.	To integrate the curriculum by adding special units, lessons, and ethnic holidays to it.	Special ethnic studies units; ethnic studies classes that focus on ethnic foods and holidays; units on ethnic heroes.
Self-Concept Development	Ethnic content can help increase the self-concept of ethnic minority students. Ethnic minority students have low self-concepts.	To increase the self-concepts and academic achievement of ethnic minority students.	Special units in ethnic studies that emphasize the contributions ethnic groups have made to the making of the nation; units on ethnic heroes.
Cultural Deprivation	Many poor and ethnic minority youths are socialized within homes and communities that prevent them from acquiring the cognitive skills and cultural characteristics needed to succeed in school.	To compensate for the cognitive deficits and dysfunctional cultural characteristics that many poor and ethnic minority youths bring to school.	Compensatory educational experiences that are behavioristic and intensive, e.g. Head Start and Follow Through programs in the United States.
Language	Ethnic and linguistic minority youths often achieve poorly in school because instruction is not conducted in their mother tongue.	To provide initial instruction in the child's mother tongue.	Teaching English as a Second Language programs; bilingual-bicultural education programs.
Racism	Racism is the major cause of the educational problems of non-White ethnic minority groups. The school can and should play a major role in eliminating institutional racism.	To reduce personal and institutional racism within the schools and the larger society.	Prejudice reduction; antiracist workshops and courses for teachers; antiracist lessons for students; an examination of the total environment to determine ways in which racism can be reduced, including curriculum materials, teacher attitudes, and school norms.
Radical	A major goal of the school is to educate students so they will willingly accept their social-class status in society. The school cannot help liberate victimized ethnic and cultural groups because it plays a key role in keeping them oppressed.	To raise the level of consciousness of students and teachers about the nature of capitalist, class-stratified societies; to help students and teachers develop a commitment to radical reform of the social and economic systems in capitalist societies.	

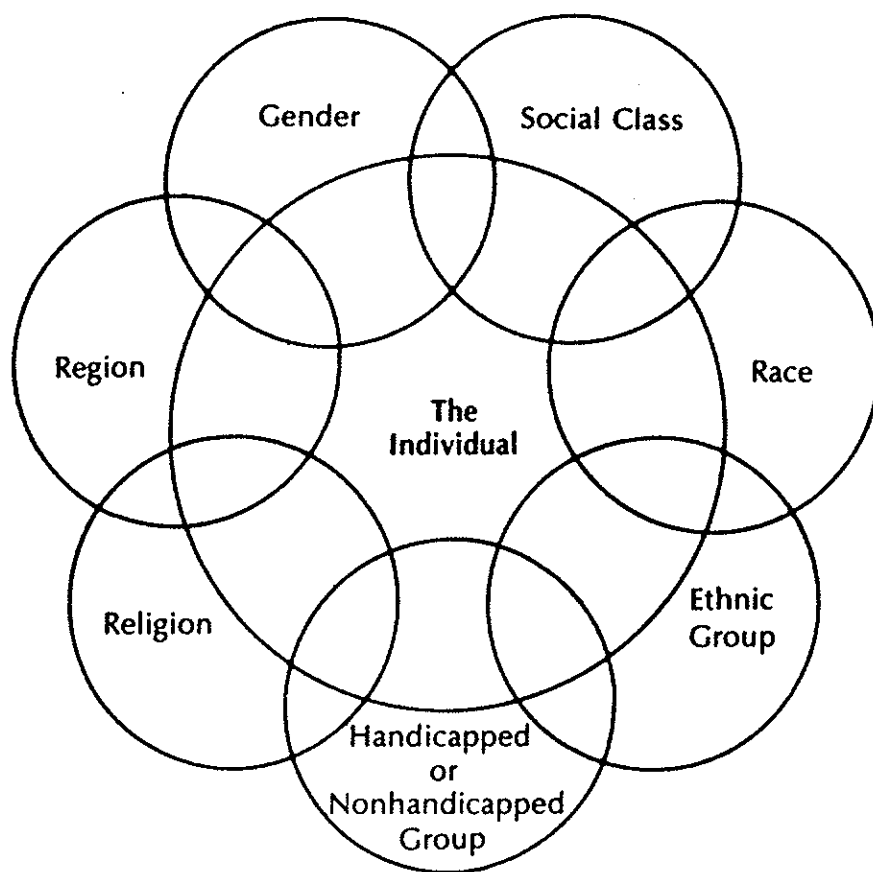
Banks, J. Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 96-98.

Table 2 Multicultural Educational Paradigms

<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Major Assumptions</i>	<i>Major Goals</i>	<i>School Programs and Practices</i>
Genetic	<p>Lower-class ethnic groups cannot attain equality within a class-stratified capitalist society. Radical reform of the social structure is a prerequisite of equality for poor and minority students.</p> <p>Lower-class and ethnic minority youths often achieve poorly in school because of their biological characteristics. Educational intervention programs cannot eliminate the achievement gap between these students and majority-group students because of their different genetic characteristics.</p>	To create a meritocracy based on intellectual ability as measured by standardized aptitude tests.	Ability-grouped classes; use of IQ tests to determine career goals for students; different career ladders for students who score differently on standardized tests.
Cultural Pluralism	Schools should promote ethnic identifications and allegiances. Educational programs should reflect the characteristics of ethnic students.	To promote the maintenance of groups; to promote the liberation of ethnic groups; to educate ethnic students in a way that will not alienate them from their home cultures.	Ethnic studies courses that are ideologically based; ethnic schools that focus on the maintenance of ethnic cultures and traditions.
Cultural Difference	Minority youths have rich and diverse cultures that have values, languages, and behavioral styles that are functional for them and valuable for the nation-state.	To change the school so it respects and legitimizes the cultures of students from diverse ethnic groups and cultures.	Educational programs that reflect the learning styles of ethnic groups, that incorporate their cultures when developing instructional principles, and that integrate ethnic content into the mainstream curriculum.
Assimilationism	<p>Ethnic minority youths should be freed of ethnic identifications and commitments so they can become full participants in the national culture. When schools foster ethnic commitments and identifications, this retards the academic growth of ethnic youths and contributes to the</p> <p>development of ethnic tension and balkanization.</p>	To educate students in a way that will free them of their ethnic characteristics and enable them to acquire the values and behavior of the mainstream culture.	<p>A number of educational programs are based on assimilationist assumptions and goals, such as cultural deprivation programs, most Teaching English as a Second Language programs, and the mainstream curriculum in most Western nations. Despite the challenges they received</p> <p>during the 1970s, the curricula in the Western nations are still dominated by assimilationist goals and ideologies.</p>

Banks, J. *Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1996-98.

Figure 1 Different Microcultural Groups



Banks, J. (1981) Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 79.

Figure 2 Acculturation as a School Goal

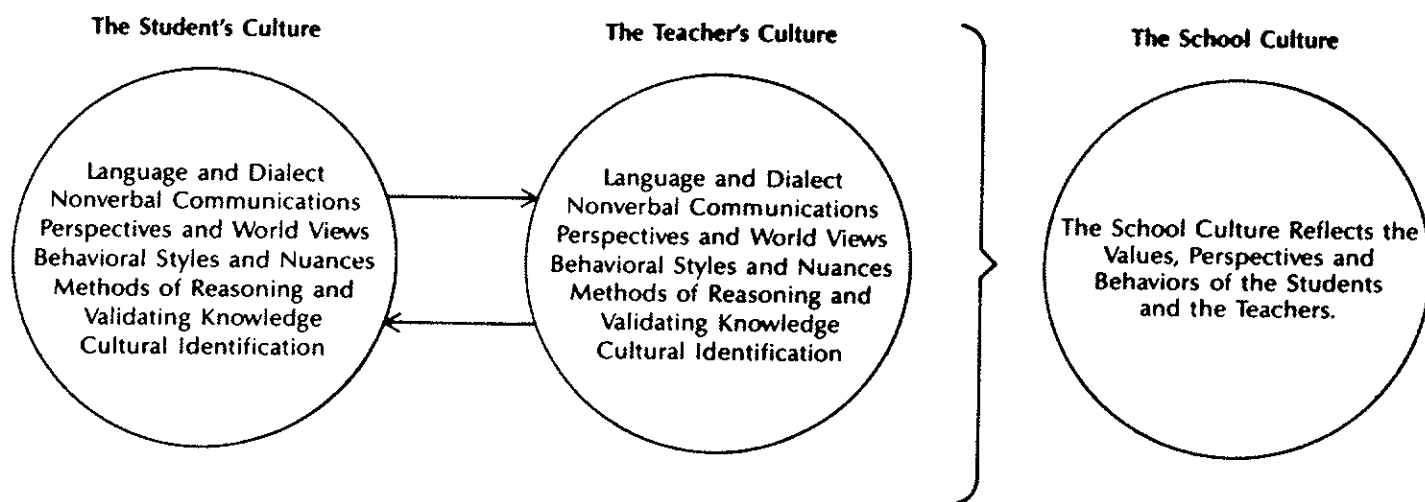


Figure 6.1. Acculturation as a School Goal

When the student assimilates elements of the teacher's culture and the teacher assimilates elements of the student's culture, the school culture becomes a synthesized cultural system that reflects the cultures of all of its participants.

Banks, J. (1981) Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 108.

Appendix

Five Approaches to Multicultural Education
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Summer 1989

Approach One

Teaching the Exceptional and Culturally Different

Societal Goals:	Help fit people into the existing social structure and culture
School Goals:	Teach dominant traditional educational aims more effectively by building bridges between the student and the demands of the school
Target Students:	Lower class, minority, special education, limited-English proficient, or female students who are behind in achievement in main school subjects
Practices:	
- Curriculum	Make relevant to students' experiential background. Fill in gaps in basic skills and knowledge
- Instruction	Build on students' learning styles. Adapt to students' skill levels. Teach as effectively and efficiently as possible to catch students up.
- Other Aspects of Classroom	Decorations show group members integrated into mainstream of society
- Support Services	Use transitional bilingual education, ESL, remedial classes, special education as temporary and intensive aids to fill gaps in knowledge
- Other School-wide Concerns	Involve lower class and minority parents in supporting work of the school

Approach Two

HUMAN RELATIONS

Societal Goals:	Promote feelings of unity, tolerance, and acceptance within existing social structure.
School Goals:	Promote positive feelings among students, reduce stereotyping, promote students' self concepts.
Target Students:	Everyone
Practices:	
- Curriculum	Teach lessons about stereotyping, name-calling Teach lessons about individual differences and similarities Include in lessons contributions of groups of which students are members
- Instruction	Use cooperative learning Use real or vicarious experiences with others
- Other Aspects of Classroom	Decorate classroom to reflect uniqueness and accomplishments of students Decorate with "I'm OK, You're OK" themes
- Support Services	
- Other School-wide Concerns	Make sure activities, school policies and practices do not put down or leave out some groups of students Promote school-wide activities, such as donating food for hunger, aimed at peace and unity

Approach Three

Single Group Studies

Societal Goals:	Promote social structural equality for and immediate recognition of the identified group
School Goals:	Promote willingness and knowledge among students to work toward social change that would benefit the identified group.
Target Students:	Everyone
Practices:	
- Curriculum	Teach units or courses about culture of a group, how group has been victimized, current social issues facing group--from perspective of that group
- Instruction	Build on students' learning style, especially learning style of that group
- Other Aspects of Classroom	Decorations reflect culture and classroom contributions of the group Representatives of the group often involved in class activities, such as guest speakers
- Support Services	
- Other School-wide Concerns	Employ faculty who are members of group(s) being studied

Approach Four

Multicultural Education

Societal Goals:	Promote social structural equality and cultural pluralism (the U.S. as a "tossed salad")
School Goals:	Promote equal opportunity in the school, cultural pluralism and alternative lifestyles, respect for those who differ, and support of pover equity among groups
Target Students:	Everyone
Practices:	
- Curriculum	Organize concepts around contributions and perspectives of several different groups Teach critical thinking, analysis of alternative viewpoints Make curriculum relevant to students' experimental backgrounds Promote use of more than one language
- Instruction	Build on students' learning styles Adapt to students' skill levels Involve students actively in thinking and analyzing Use cooperative learning
- Other Aspects of Classroom	Decorate classroom to reflect cultural pluralism, non-traditional sex roles, disabled people, student interests
- Support Services	Help regular classroom adapt to as much diversity as possible.
- Other School-wide Concerns	Involve lower class and minority parents actively in the school Staffing patterns include diverse racial, gender, disability groups, in nontraditional roles Decorations, special events, school menus reflect and include diverse groups

Library materials include diverse groups in diverse roles

Extra curriculum activities include all student groups, not reinforce stereotypes

Discipline procedures not penalize any group

Building be accessible to disabled people

Approach Five

Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist

Societal Goals:	Promote social structural equality and cultural pluralism
School Goal:	Prepare citizens to work actively toward social structural equality; promote cultural pluralism and alternative lifestyles; promote equal opportunity in the school
Target Students:	Everyone
Practices:	
- Curriculum	Organize content around current social issues involving racism, classism, sexism, handicapism Organize concepts around experiences and perspectives of several different American groups Use students' life experiences as starting point for analyzing oppression Teach critical thinking skills, analysis of alternative viewpoints Teach social action skills, empowerment skills
- Instruction	Involve students actively in democratic decision-making Build on students' learning styles Adapt to students' skill levels Use cooperative learning
- Other Aspects of Classroom	Decorate room to reflect social action themes, cultural diversity, student interests Avoid testing and grouping procedures that designate some students as failures
- Support Services	Help regular classroom adapt to as much diversity as possible